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ABSTRACT

This is an annotated bibliography of generative-based grammatical analyses of Spanish, with emphasis on studies in phonology and morphology. The 116 entries, arranged by author, include books, journal articles, dissertations and relevant research papers both in English and in Spanish. A list of abbreviations and a list of related bibliographies are also provided. (CLK)

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"An Annotated, Critical Bibliography of Generative-Based Grammatical Analyses of Spanish: Phonology and Morphology."

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"Bibliographies are usually out of date the moment that they are printed."

Joseph Schraibman

The Modern Language Journal

61. 71 (1977).

This bibliography is arranged alphabetically by author. In the case of multiple entries for a single author, the bibliographical references are arranged chronologically and alphabetized by title for each year. All references to book reviews, other annotations, and abstracts are contained in brackets. All of these are arranged chronologically. Whenever a reviewer is known, he or she is identified in parentheses. There is a "List of Abbreviations" on pages 118-123, and "Related Bibliographies" on pages 124-125.

"An Annotated, Critical Bibliography
of Generative-Based Grammatical Analyses of Spanish:
Phonology and Morphology."

1. Allen, J. H. D. "Tense/Lax in Castilian Spanish." Word 20. 295-321 (1964).

In this early article, Allen argues for a tense/lax feature for the consonantal system of Spanish based on a scrupulous examination of the orthography of medieval texts. His conclusion that "in medieval Castilian Spanish there existed a Tense/Lax distinctive feature opposition, relevant to the structure of the contemporary phonemic system" (p. 321) is based on the systematic presence of certain geminate graphs (ff, ss and rr). He also concludes that a series of historical sound changes have virtually eliminated this distinction from the language. The article represents a piece of solid scholarship.

2. Anderson, J. "The Morphophonemics of Gender in Spanish Nouns." Lingua 10. 285-296 (1961).

The twofold purpose of this study is "to show that gender is expressed in the noun itself without

recourse to adjectives such as definite or indefinite article . . . [and] to set up sub-classes of nouns in order to indicate the relations between the masculine and feminine morphemes in respect to their allomorphs and the distribution of the allomorphs in relation to the new roots" (p. 285). The appendix of the study contains a "generative grammar" for deriving the gender of the noun classes in the first section. By today's standards, the phrase structure rules are woefully inadequate. However, the study provides an accurate measurement of the enormous strides that have been made in generative phonology and morphology in the past fifteen years.

3. Baena-Zapata, Luis Angel. "The Phonology of the Spanish of Antioquia (Colombia)." PhD Diss., Univ. of Texas at Austin, 1967. [DA 27(1967) 4235-A.]

See page 2a >

4. Brame, Michael K. and Ivonne Bordelois. "Vocalic Alternations in Spanish." LingI, 4.111-168 (1973).

The author's purpose is "un intento de exploración de las posibilidades de solución a algunos de los problemas que se encaran al considerar el tema de la variación dialectal (horizontal o vertical) dentro de una lengua cuya extensión dá la posibilidad de esta variación" (p. vi). In reality, this is a dialect study of the Spanish of Antioquia, Colombia. This study is more structural in nature than generative. The phonological rules are given informally rather than in a rigorous generative framework. A six-page appendix contains the material described in the body of the text. However, the bibliography (pp. 98-99) is not comprehensive; it projects a limited perspective of the field of linguistics on the part of the author.

In a lengthy discussion of the complex issue of vocalic alternations in Spanish (e/\/i / o/\/u; e/\/ye / o/\/we), the authors pay hommage to Harris' (# 46) account of these phenomena in Spanish (in particular, his fourth chapter pp. 104-131). However, they promise to provide a more satisfactory explanation of this problematic area of Spanish phonology by the introduction of additional pertinent data and an overlooked generalization. Brame and Bordelois provide numerous counterexamples to Harris' vocalic alternation solution (which amounts to little more than a set of diacritical markings to indicate which vocalic segments will undergo change). They provide a unitary rule called the "Raising-Breaking" rule (p. 148). The function of this extemely complex rule, which is three conjunctively ordered subrules containing four conditions (aka lists), is to state generalizations missing in Harris' analysis. The authors have merely succeeded in pointing out additional problems for a phonological grammar of Spanish. Their simplification is specious in that it incorporates

one of the most complicated phonological rules proposed. In addition, the article contains an appendix (pp. 165-168) entitled "The Cyclic Nature of Stress Assignment as Proved by Raising-Breaking." The purpose of this addendum is to motivate the cycle in phonological theory. The authors use Spanish adverbials ending in -mente to illustrate their point since they involve a complex lexical item historically derived from two separate words. Since the components each contain primary stress at the surface level, they must have received it by a cyclic application of the stress assignment rule. This appendix resulted in an expanded article by Brame (# 5).

5. Brame, Michael K. "The Cycle in Phonology: Stress in Palestinian, Maltese and Spanish." LingI 5. 39-60 (1974).

The purpose of this article is to support the notion that stress assignment in natural languages must be applied cyclically. The author chooses three distinct languages (Palestinian Arabic, Maltese and Spanish) in order to substantiate his

claim. Of particular interest in this theoretically-based article are the Hispanic data contained on pp. 49-52. They are essentially the same data and argumentation contained in Brame and Bordelois (# 4). There is a subsequent reply to the article by Suñer (#105).

6. Brame, Michael K. and Ivonne Bordelois. "Some Controversial Questions in Spanish Phonology." LingI 5. 282-298 (1974).

In a reply to a rejoinder by James W. Harris (# 57), the authors state that Harris' rejection of their proposal is based on grounds of observational, descriptive and explanatory adequacy but that he offers no concrete counter-proposal. They suggest a more promising alternative to their original analysis. A list of the eight reasons for the superiority of their original proposal over that of Harris' is included. Each of the "adequacy" critiques sketched by Harris is answered. It should be noted that Harris is selective in his refutations in that he picks the weakest arguments of his "foes" without

mentioning their strengths. Brame and Bordelois finally offer an alternative solution to their original "Raising-Breaking" rule by offering what appears to be three separate rules of Breaking, Raising and Stress Shift. The authors note that "a critical attitude [of any analysis] is a healthful attitude" (p. 297).

7. Bucher, Cecilia Balcázar de. "Análisis transformacional de un dialecto del español." PhD Diss., Georgetown Univ., 1971. [DA 32 (1972) 6953-6954-A.]

See page 6a >

8. *Burstynsky, Edward Norman. "Distinctive Feature Analysis and Diachronic Spanish Phonology." PhD Diss., Univ. of Toronto, 1967. [DA 28 (1968) 4154-A.]

9. Calvano, William Joseph. "A Phonological Study of Ibero-Romance Dialects." MA Thesis, Cornell Univ., 1966. v, 104 pp.

Calvano's study is a description in a generative

This dialect study deals with "español general americano" (p. 5). Its focus is primarily syntactic rather than phonological. Passing reference is made to the phonology of Spanish. There are two appendices: "Corpus analizado" (pp. 93-100); and "Muestra de algunos diálogos y narraciones" (pp. 101-117). These appendices contain data which could be analyzed phonologically.

phonological framework of Castilian, Aragonés, Portuguese and Catalán. The description utilizes a binary acoustic feature system as would any pre-1968 study i.e., pre-Sound Pattern of English by Chomsky and Halle. There is no reference, however, in the bibliography to Preliminaries to Speech Analysis: The Distinctive Features and their Correlates by Jakobson, Fant and Halle. The purpose of the study is "a comparison of the phonologies of four dialects (emphasis my own, FHN) of Romance spoken in the Iberian peninsula" (p. 1). The fact that the three distinctive languages and the one dialect (Aragonese) share a common ancestral relative, namely Latin, does not justify their description as dialects. The author only touches upon the question of mutual intelligibility as a criterion for distinguishing dialect and language. However, he notes that the distinction among the four "dialects" is simply a byproduct of the number and type of differentiating phonological rules (p. 103). Ignoring this theoretical difficulty, the author does succeed in presenting a rigorous phonological analysis of each "dialect" consisting

of three types of rules: phonetic (non-distinctive features), morpheme structure (permissible combinations of segments) and phonological (change one or more features for allomorphic distribution). The latter are partially ordered. After his description, Calvano compares a limited corpus of twenty-five lexical items in order to determine the Common System and the Extensional System of differentiaing patterns for each "dialect" (p. 67). The study draws heavily from Saporta (1965) and his notion of rule reordering as a means of accounting for dialect differences.

10. Campbell, Joe R. "Phonological Analyses of Spanish." PhD Diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1966. ix, 220 pp.
[DA 27 (1967) 2137-A.]

The purpose of this dissertation according to the author is "(1) to examine critically some theoretical statements concerning the sound system of Spanish in an attempt to derive a number of metatheoretical conditions imposed by various phonologists; and (2) to select and justify or motivate a set of conditions

which would be preferable on some grounds" (p. 7). The author made use of Charles Fillmore's study "A System for Characterizing Phonological Theories" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1959) for comparing various phonological systems. His format includes four elements: a classificatory component; a system of formation rules; a system of pronunciation rules; and a system of correspondence rules. Campbell considers nine representative phonological analyses. His third chapter (pp. 125-210) consists of a "new analysis." It contains a list of acoustic distinctive features of Spanish and a set of phonological rules which are similar to those found in Foley's dissertation (# 28).

11. Cohen, Victor B. "Foleyology." CLS7. 316-322 (1971). The point of this critique of Foley's more recent work in phonological theory is to note that "a phonological system serves to relate syntactic strings to phonetic representations . . . [however] to attempt to construct a phonology on phonological facts alone

is a circular pursuit" (p. 316). More specifically, Cohen notes that Foley's abstract system cannot be empirically verified. He then proceeds to provide counterexamples to the cases that Foley has discussed, namely, the consonantal shifts of Vulgar Latin to Spanish and the two Germanic consonant shifts. Cohen's disagreement with Foley's system lies in its inexact and unverifiable nature. However, Cohen does agree that rule repetition (# 32) is a viable explanation for phonological change within a system that has access to phonetic linguistic facts.

12. Contreras, Heles and Sol Saporta. "The Validation of a Phonological Grammar." Lingua 9. 1-15 (1960).

[Rev. BH 64. 3-4 (1962) (M. Mohlo).]

Written within the framework of the Chomskyan linguistic "revolution," Contreras and Saporta define the terms "grammatical" as "acceptable" and "contrast" as "different." They attempt this by establishing tests for native speakers of Spanish including minimal pair tests with phonemic and

non-phonemic distinctions and repetition tests. The authors found the pair test is inadequate because it "measures the informant's perception of his own or another's phonemic system and not his production" (p. 12). The repetition test is also considered to be inadequate because it relies too heavily upon the experimenter's subjective analysis. Contreras and Saporta conclude that "it seems feasible to devise a test which will unambiguously answer the questions (1) Are the utterances both grammatical? (2) Do these utterances contrast? However, it is not clear whether any test can answer the question (3) Which string of phonemes best represents this utterance?" (p. 15).

13. Contreras, Heles. "Vowel Fusion in Spanish." Hispania 52. 60-62 (1968).

[LTA 3. 55 (1970) (Anonymous). Annot. Frey, pp. 37-38.]

In this brief article, Contreras details some of the complexities involved in the fusion of two contiguous vocalic segments. This process is not the simple phenomenon that it may appear to be. The various

factors involved in the process include stress, word boundaries, front versus back vowels, identity of features, and relative tongue height. He formulates four rules in standard generative phonological formulae. He then offers a pedagogical application of the theory which amounts to a written statement of his formal rules. However, the pedagogical observations would only be useful in a class of phonetics for advanced Spanish students.

14. _____. "Simplicity, Descriptive Adequacy and Binary Features." Language 45. 1-8 (1969). Contreras' basic claim is that a binary feature system contradicts the simplicity criterion proposed by Halle. Contreras states that there is a "correlation between generality of statement and economy of symbols" (p. 1). He bases his claim on a rule of vowel sandhi in Spanish that states that "an unstressed vowel becomes a glide if followed, across a word boundary, by a non-identical vowel which is not higher" (p. 2). It is important to note that as Harris (# 51) later points out, Contreras provides

no actual data from Spanish. Furthermore, his argumentation is purely theoretical with no empirical evidence. His second piece of evidence for his claim is derived from a hypothetical phonological rule. His last argument involves a question of descriptive adequacy. The failure to include natural linguistic data tends to make his claim vacuous.

15. Cressey, William W. "A Note on Specious Simplification and the Theory of Markedness." PIL 2. 227-237 (1970).

This primarily theoretical paper deals with the system of markedness. The author focuses on two types of "specious" simplifications within such a system. In the first case (Lightner, 1963), Cressey shows that u = unmarked and m = marked contrast with each other but not with + and -, and vice versa. In the second case, Stanley (1967) states that "specious" rules are blocked in three ways: "(a) prohibit redundancy rules which insert segments, (b) stipulate that redundancy rules are unordered,

or (c) require that every lexical matrix be so specified as to be distinct from all but one fully specified systematic phonemic matrix" (pp. 230-231). Spanish epenthesis (insertion of -e) in word initial clusters of the form s + C) is a phonological rule which cannot be differentiated as a non-specious phonological rule as in the case of Stanley's discussion (1967).

16. *_____. "Is Spanish Stress Really Predictable." Mimeographed, 1970.

This item was not seen by the annotator because it was circulated on a limited basis in mimeograph form. The result was that very few copies are still extant. This is a common phenomenon in contemporary linguistics.

17. _____. "Irregular Verbs in Spanish." GSRL 236-246.

In an attempt to deal with the large residue of irregular verb forms in Spanish, Cressey introduces the notion of "athemacity" in order to help

eliminate these problem cases. He defines the notion as "either the verb is subject to the rule, although it does not meet the structural requirement of the rule, or the rule applies at an earlier point in the derivation of the verb than it would normally [apply]" (p. 237). The types of irregularities that he discusses are past participles, future tense, irregular preterits and the present indicative and subjunctive of hacer and decir. Cressey's solution to these verbs depends crucially on Stephen Anderson's Local Ordering Theory which permits two rules to apply so as to maximize their potential application in a derivation. This, of course, requires that such verbs be marked in the lexicon.

18. _____. "Teaching Irregular Present Tense Verb Forms: A Transformational Approach." Hispania 55. 98-100 (1972). [Annot. Frey, pp. 63-64.] In this article, the author seeks to use some of the theoretical observations made about the so-called irregular present tense verbs of Spanish and apply them to the learning situation. He examines those

verbs with a -y in the first person singular and observes that all are monosyllabic. He then takes up the complex cases of those verbs that exhibit vocalic alternations in their stems. His suggestion for facilitating the learning of these verbs is to have a stressed form of the verb as the citation form. He suggests the third person singular in order to preserve some information about conjugation class. The final group considered includes those verbs which add a consonant to the stem when followed by -o or -a. He also suggests that the citation form for these also be third person singular in order to preserve conjugation class information.

19. _____. "Homorganic in Generative Phonology." PIL 7. 69-82 (1974).

Cressey states that the twofold purpose of his paper is "to claim that a new abbreviatory device is needed in phonological theory . . . to suggest a formulation of that device, and . . . to speculate on its significance in terms of our understanding

of phonological systems" (p. 70). The specific problem studied is the notion of "homorganic," or that generative phonology has no method of describing the point of articulation. The data used are nasal and lateral assimilation in Spanish. His proposal for nasal assimilation is to use an arbitrary cover symbol "PA" (presumably standing for "point of articulation") to stand for a bundle of features. In reality, all this does is substitute an abstract symbol for a list rather than the list itself. This is, at best, a specious simplification. He poses two questions about his proposal. The first is whether his device is legitimate. The appropriate response is no. The second question is whether his proposal suggests anything about the nature of linguistic eompetence. His answer is vague, at best.

20. _____. "Spanish Glides Revisited." CSPL, 35-43.

The purpose of this paper is "to integrate certain characteristics of the rule (or rather rules) which introduce glides into Spanish utterances . . . .

The claim will be made that there are two glide formation rules in Spanish--one marking convention which applies to high vowels only, and only within words, and one which applies potentially to any nonlow vowel, and which may occur across word boundaries" (pp. 35-36). The author proposes the introduction of a marking system in order to deal with certain ordering problems of a putative Glide Formation rule relative to Stress Assignment. Cressey finally conjectures that, from the standpoint of language change, rules probably began as variable rules before they became absolute and they may be reintroduced at a later stage of the language (# 32).

This leads him to hypothesize the possibility of "recyclic" rules.

21. Deguchi, Atsumi. "La estructura de las desinencias del verbo español." Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies 23. 35-60 (1971).

The title and the abstract of this article are

written in Spanish; however, the rest of the article is entirely in Japanese. Since the annotator does not read Japanese, the abstract is reproduced in its entirety. "En el presente artículo tratamos de aclarar algunos puntos fundamentales de la flexión de verbos españoles por dos distintas metodologías: la de análisis morfémico y la de la llamada doctrina de gramática generative transformacional. Primero analizamos los sufijos flexionales en una series de unidades morfológicas o morfemas para presentar la descripción de su estructura. Después se proponen unas tentativas para formular una gramática de la flexión verbal, o sea un conjunto de reglas ordenadas que generan toda desinencia bien formada."

22. *_____. "La representación fonológica y las redundancias del español." Estudios Hispánicos 2. 34-49 (1972).

All copies of this journal have been discarded by the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

23. _____. "Sobre las reglas para la formación

del plural español." Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies 30.1-14 (1974).

Although the title and the three paragraph abstract are in Spanish, the rest of the article is written in Japanese (a language which the annotator does not read). Deguchi notes that none of the other analyses (#'s 29, 37, 50, 76, 78, 80, 95, 96,109) have explained plural formation in a satisfactory manner. The proposal made by the author in paragraph three of his abstract states that "en este artículo el autor va a proponer el concepto de 'meta fonológica' de la pluralización y subrayar la importancia de las 'restricciones o condiciones fonéticas superficiales' propias de la fonología española" (p. 1).

24. Dinnsen, Daniel A. "The Fallacy of Strict Sequentiality." IULC, 1974.

The purpose of this study is to provide evidence from Spanish data which demonstrates the necessity for simultaneous application of rules in at least some cases as opposed to a totally sequential application

of phonological rules. The focus of the study is a reanalysis of the Brame and Bordelois (# 4) single rule ("Raising and Breaking") account of vocalic alternations in Spanish (e⌒ye / o⌒we). Dinnsen argues against their single rule account on the grounds that it is not a conflation of the three separate phonological processes of Epenthesis, Raising and Stress Shift since only adjacently ordered rules may be collapsed. Second, maintaining the one rule approach results in a loss of generality. Finally, Stress Shift must be stated twice in their analysis. Based on these three critiques, the author assumes that since the structural description of Epenthesis and Raising are met at a certain stage of the derivation, then these rules must apply simultaneously. If one assumes the correctness of the underlying forms hypothesized, then this analysis is convincing. Dinnsen's study differs from Harris' reply (# 62) in that Harris believes that Brame and Bordelois are in error even at the level of observational adequacy, i.e., they do not consider all of the

possible cases of vocalic alternations.

25. Durán-Zúñiga, Juan. "A Distinctive Feature Analysis of Old Spanish Phonology." MA Thesis, Indiana Univ., 1964. iv, 42 pp.

This thesis is a phonological analysis of fourteenth century Castilian Spanish and is based on Jakobson's distinctive feature approach and Pike's methodological procedures. By today's standards, it is a rather simplistic account of the distinctive features. The chart of the distinctive features (p. 36) would be unacceptable since it consists of acoustic features as opposed to today's articulatory features. This study would only be of interest in a history of linguistics course since it represents what was occurring in theoretical linguistics in the early 1960's. The study contains no phonological rules.

26. Ezquerra, Raimundo. "Notas sobre los sonidos consonantes en español." EspA 27. 1-6 (1974).

The only relation that this article has to generative

phonology are two passing references to Harris and Chomsky. Otherwise, it is simply an "item and arrangement" analysis of the allophonic distribution of Spanish consonants in a supposedly new equational system developed by the author for presenting the superficial phonetic facts of the Spanish language,

27. *Foley, James A. "Spanish Verb Endings." Mimeographed, 1964.

This item was not seen by the annotator. This and several other entries were items produced by mimeograph in the 1960's and early 1970's which were distributed on a very limited basis by the authors themselves. Since they were never formally published in any journals, their accessibility is highly constrained if not impossible.

28. _____. "Spanish Morphology." PhD Diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1965. 120 pp.

In what was the first substantive study of Spanish phonology within a generative framework, Foley

provides a thorough discussion of verbal morphology. The features are acoustic in this pre-Sound Pattern of English (1968) analysis. The author proposes such phonological rules as Apocope, Stress Assignment and the problems that these involve vis-à-vis Plural Formation (Chapter 5, pp. 76-90). This study on pluralization is the source of his later article (# 29) on this now well-studied pseudo-issue which was to foment so much theoretical discussion in the future. Foley's dissertation served Harris (# 46) as an excellent source for his own more comprehensive analysis of Spanish phonology.

29. _____. "Spanish Plural Formation." Language 43. 486-493 (1967).

The purpose of this study was to justify the existence of abstract underlying segments in generative phonological analyses. Foley contended convincingly that the positing of an underlying e for nouns and adjectives would considerably simplify Spanish phonology. He demonstrated that such an abstract

element together with an ordered set of independently motivated phonological rules, such as contraction, shortening, word-final assibilation (velar-softening) and stress prediction would not only successfully account for Spanish plural formation in a predictable fashion, but it would also account for a variety of other facts in Spanish phonology. It is a convincing and well-organized argument for abstract underlying phonological segments at a time when this was a hotly debated theoretical issue. In addition, it was a response to Saporta's formal list (# 101) of how to formulate the plural in Spanish.

30. _____. "Phonological Distinctive Features." FoLi 4. 87-92 (1970).

Foley uses well-known and documented historical phonological changes, namely, the first and second Germanic consonant shifts and various Spanish consonant shifts (including degemination, voicing and fricativization of intervocalic voiceless stops from Latin), as he tries to demonstrate the need for a new theoretical construct in generative

phonology in terms of relative strength (the Germanic case) and relative weakness (the Spanish case). He claims that these historical data are not statable in any contemporary theoretical framework based on mere phonetic aspects of phonological rules. Foley thus proposes an abstract "strength" scale to state these historical processes. This is the first of a series of proposals in various articles which were later labelled by Victor Cohen (# 11) as "Foleyology."

31. _____. "A Systematic Phonological Interpretation of the Germanic Consonant Shifts." LangS 9. 11-12 (1970).

Although the title may seem inappropriate for inclusion in a bibliography of Spanish phonology, this is little more than a restatement of his earlier paper (# 30), in which Foley uses the same data and argumentation for the introduction of a perameter of phonological strength and its implied opposite--weakness. This is a phonological (hence, abstract and supposedly systematic) level

as opposed to a purely phonetic or physical facet. Nothing new is added to this paper originally presented at the 1969 summer LSA meeting held in Urbana-Champaign.

32. _____. "Phonological Change by Rule Repetition." CLS 7. 376-384 (1971).

In a very interesting pluri-lingual, data-based article, Foley proposes that "phonological change is not effected by the addition of rules to grammars but rather by the repetition of rules existing in an earlier stage of the language" (p. 384). The types of cases which he cites (substantiated with many pertinent Spanish data) include simple repetition, repetition with different phonetic manifestations, repetition of different elements, restricted repetition, generalized repetition and the so-called catalytic influence of the morpheme boundary. His reason for postulating this thesis is that universal phonological processes must necessarily belong to a restricted set. Therefore, rule repetition will account for the

phonological changes that occur in a variety of grammars in an interesting fashion. The divergent data make this claim plausible both synchronically and diachronically.

33. _____. "Assibilation in Spanish First Singular Verb Forms: Interrupted Rule Schemata." GSRL 225-235.

In this discussion of certain irregular verbs of the present tense in Spanish (i.e., hago and digo), Foley disputes Harris' (# 46) claim that they are really anomolous and cannot be systematically explained away. Harris, it should be noted, points out that one would expect all verbs of the same phonological shape to exhibit the k/g alternation if these were completely regular (i.e., mecer, cocer, vencer, torcer). The author explains these inconsistencies on the basis of highly abstract and very Latinate underlying forms. In addition, he notes certain tendencies for the occurence of assibilation in Romance based on his notion of relative phonological strength (# 30).

These tendencies include the quality of the following vowel, the fact that the phenomenon will be more likely to occur to velars than labials and it will occur more often to voiced consonants than voiceless ones. For those linguists who do not believe in highly abstract phonological characterizations, Foley's explanation will be unacceptable. The data, as set forth, do seem to support the notion of a perameter of relative phonological strength (# 30).

34. _____. "Rule Precursors and Phonological Change by Meta-Rule." Linguistic Change and Generative Phonology. Robert P. Stockwell and K. S. McCauley. Editors. 1972. 96-100.

See page 29a>

35. _____. "Latin Origin of Romance Rules." DSRL 37-54.

The major theoretical claim of this study is that "the continuity of modern Romance Languages with Latin is reflected in the utilization of Latin

In this brief article Foley claims "that Historical change occurs not by the addition of rules to a grammar, but rather by changes in rules already existing in the present language; and that historical changes are not unrelated to each other; but rather occur in groups definable by meta-rules" (p. 96). The author uses the Spanish examples of lenition (the voicing of intervocalic voiceless stops), syncope (the elision of a short unstressed vowel), and facilitation (the development of a liquid to a glide). Foley's analyses have been criticized frequently because of his recourse to "abstract phonological relationships" (p. 97) which have no correlate in phonetic reality.

rules in the modern languages. Latin rules are repeated or generalized to give the modern Romance rules. The types of repetition are: (1) simple repetition; (2) repetition with different phonetic manifestation; (3) repetition to different elements; (4) restricted repetition. The types of generalization are: (5) generalization of rule; (6) generalization of environment; (7) generalization of environment (morpheme boundary); (8) relaxation of similarity requirement. We consider also: (9) persistence of rules" (p. 37). The remainder of the article provides exemplification of these nine phenomena from Spanish and other natural languages.

36. Foster, David W. "A Contrastive Note on Stress in English and Equivalent Structures in Spanish." IRAL 6.257-266 (1968).

The abstract of this article best sums up its content: "l'auteur de cet article essaie de decrire l'accentuation des combinaisons d'adjectifs et de substantifs en anglais et en espagnol, surtout en ce qui concerne le contraste emphatique.

Il se sert pour cette description de la théorie de phonologie générative developpée par Chomsky, Halle et Lukoff. A la description des modèles d'intonation anglais dans la première partie suit dans la deuxième une comparaison avec les structures correspondantes en espagnol. Les faits d'interference qui se produisent pendant l'apprentissage de l'espagnol par un anglophone et vice versa s'expliquent à la lumière de cette comparaison. La tentative de l'auteur d'interpréter d'une manière nouvelle--dans le cadre des resultats obtenus--les variantes de position de certains groupes avec adjectifs en espagnol . . . attirent surtout l'attention du lecteur" (p. 257).

37. Frengle, Dennis Paul. "A Generative Phonology of Thirteenth Century Castilian." PhD Diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1975. vii, 204 pp. [DAI 36 (1975), 1475-A.]

In this diachronic study, the author "reflects to the extent possible the complete phonological grammar of the standard Castilian speech of the

thirteenth century. Included are both morpheme structure rules . . . and phonological rules . . . . The thirteenth century was chosen because it was then that a large body of material was written in Spanish for the first time" (p. 5). Frengle's primary data sources are the works of Alfonso el Sabio of Castile. The author cites several limitations to his work. These include the non-phonetic nature of the writing system. The second is the "hybrid" status of the work in that there were scribal variations and concessions made to certain neighboring dialect areas. The author employs seventeen distinctive articulatory features in his analysis. Chapter four (pp. 98-186) contains a list of the twenty-six phonological rules necessary to describe this stage of the Spanish language together with appropriate exemplification. Of particular interest is the discussion of Spanish plural formation (pp. 122-130) (cf. #'s 23, 29 50, 76, 78, 80, 95, 96, 109) in which the author adduces convincing historical evidence in favor of an epenthetic -e. A final appendix

(pp. 193-197) contains a list of the twenty-six formal rules.

38. González-Mena de Lococo, Virginia A. "A Look at Spanish Irregular Verbs." Hispania 58. 111-114 (1975).
[LTLA 9. 39 (1976) (Anonymous).]
In another attempt to aid teachers in the systematic presentation of the so-called irregular verbs of Spanish, the author considers the underlying regularities of verbs in the present indicative, imperative, future, imperfect and preterit. Her approach is to refer to the consonants in the stems as a kind of mnemonic device for the student. She relies on Harris' (# 52) analysis of these verbs to set up her classifications. Unfortunately, the result is a set of rules which seem almost as complex as a mere listing of the irregularities. The suggestions would be difficult to implement in a classroom.

39. Guile, Timothy. "Glide-Obstruent and the Syllable

Coda Hierarchy." CLS 9 139-156 (1973).

The purpose of this analysis is to take data from a variety of unrelated natural languages (including data from the Spanish of Argentina) to support the author's hypothesis that there are certain preferred syllable types i.e., his syllable coda hierarchy which is stated as follows: "if a language allows obstruents in the environment C_0 V____C_0, then it must also allow non-obstruents in this same environment" (p. 147).

40. Guitart, Jorge M. "Markedness and a Cuban Dialect of Spanish." PhD Diss., Georgetown Univ., 1973, v, 190 pp.
[DAI, 34 (1974), 4230-A. Annot. Teachner, pp. 305-306.]

See # 42 for the published version of this dissertation.

41. _____. "Phonetic Neutralization in Spanish and Universal Phonetic Theory." CSRL, 51-55.

The author first defines the term "phonetic

neutralization" as "the exclusion of one or more classes of sounds from a given environment" (p. 51). Furthermore, he differentiates "phonological neutralization" as "the absence of contrast between systematic phonemes in a given environment" (p. 51) as opposed to "phonetic neutralization which is "the exclusion of a surface-phonetic segment from a given environment but without the loss of a systematic phonemic contrast" (p. 51). Specific cases from Cuban Spanish data included by Guitart are the neutralization of s, f and r to aspirate h, i.e., esto → e[h]to; difteria → di[h]teria; and carne → ca[h]ne. His supposition is that this represents a linguistic simplification and may be universal. He leaves the question of the validity of his claim as a empirical issue in universal phonetics open.

42. _____. Markedness and a Cuban Dialect of Spanish. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1976. vi, 90 pp.

In this published version of his Georgetown

University doctoral dissertation (# 40),
the author deals with the theory of markedness as it relates to a language specific dialect--Educated Spanish of Havana (ESH). The author proposes a theory of "relative markedness which he defines in the following terms "I propose the term Relative Markedness to describe the theoretical framework that would incorporate these fundamental notions. (1) Not all sounds and sequences are either perceived or produced with equal ease. (2) The constraints imposed on the organization of phonological systems and on the utilization of phonological elements are due to the limitations of human structures having to do with the production and perception of speech, and are, as such, universal. (3) Even though there are phonological elements (sounds and sound sequences) that are both easy to pronounce and easy to perceive, there are elements that are physiologically simple but perceptually complex and elements that are physiologically complex and perceptually simple. (4) Neither maximal contrast

nor least effort is the main guiding principle in human communication, i.e., neither the speaker nor the hearer is overwhelmingly preferred. Actually, in many cases communication tends to strike a middle ground between the speaker and the hearer. That is to say, phonological elements which are neither too simple nor too complex--if judged by either the perceptual or the physiological criterion--will be used more frequently than elements which are least complex according to one criterion but most complex according to the other criterion. (5) Human communication does not utilize sounds that are both harder to produce and harder to perceive. If these assumptions are correct, one can speak of three possibilities as far as Unmarked and Marked categories are concerned: (a) there are phonological elements that are Unmarked both physiologically and perceptually; (b) there are phonological elements that are Unmarked physiologically, but Marked perceptually; (c) there are phonological elements that are Marked physiologically, but Unmarked perceptually. And there are, of course, no phonological elements that are

Marked both physiologically and perceptually" (pp. 65-66).

43. Hara, Makoto. "En defensa del concepto 'fonema' contra la fonología generativa de la escuela de Chomsky." in Magis, Carlos H. Actas del tercer congreso internacional de Hispanistas. México: El Colegio de México, 1970. pp. 435-442.

Peripherally related to the central topic of this bibliography, the author attempts to defend precisely those aspects of autonomous phonemics which Chomsky and Halle (and many others) had shown to be inadequacies of the structuralist school of linguistics, namely, failure of autonomous phonemics to utilize phonetic features; the linearity condition; phonemic invariability; and bi-uniqueness. This impassioned statement on the topic simply rattles a few skeletons in the linguistic closet and nothing more. If it has any value at all it is to continue questioning linguistic hypotheses which are by no means sacred nor impregnable.

44. Harris, James W. "Spanish Phonology." PhD Diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1967. 224 pp.

See # 46 for the published version of this dissertation. The author's dissertation "strives for deeper insight into the widely studied facts of Spanish pronunciation by presenting a theory of these facts in the precise form of a generative grammar. Such precise and explicit formulation can lead to the discovery of serious gaps in our understanding, and may have the heuristic value of suggesting a principled way to fill these gaps . . . . This investigation makes available a large and detailed body of data of the appropriate sort needed to confront the universal phonological theory whose most recent statement is found in Chomsky and Halle (1968)" (p. 5). The bibliographic reference to Chomsky and Halle (1968) seems somewhat odd given the fact that this dissertation was accepted in August of 1967.

45. _____. "Distinctive Feature Theory and Nasal Assimilation in Spanish."

[ERIC: ED 019 667; RIE 3. 30 (1968).]

The formal version of this ERIC document appeared in Linguistics in 1970 (# 49)

46. _____. Spanish Phonology. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969. xvi, 218 pp.

[Rev. GL 11. 63-70 (1971) (W. W. Cressey); SCL 22. 428-431 (1971) (Anca Belchiță); RPh 25. 412-420 (1972) (O. T. Myers); Linguistics 109. 83-109 (1973) (Jerry Craddock).]

Harris' published version of his 1967 doctoral dissertation with the same title is still a model for the precise, logical and convincing argumentation within the framework of generative grammar. While linguists may debate his theoretical assertions, they cannot refute the explicitness and thoroughness of this monumental work. It is an analysis of the educated speech of the Spanish of Mexico City. The author takes issue with Saporta and Sableski's notion that a phonological grammar of Spanish should account

for all dialects of Spanish. On page seven, Harris suggests four impressionistic styles of spoken Spanish: (1) largo which is "very slow, deliberate, overprecise;" (2) andante which is "moderately slow, careful, but natural;" (3) allegretto which is "moderately fast, casual, colloquial;" and (4) presto which is "very fast, completely unguarded." His study, in general, analyzes the andante and allegretto speech patterns. The second chapter deals with nasal assimilation, lateral assimilation, glide-consonant alternations, voiced and voiceless stops, tap and trilled [r]. In the next chapter, there is a fairly comprehensive analysis of the regular verb forms in the present indicative and subjunctive, participles and infinitives, imperfect, past subjunctive, preterit, future and conditional. Chapter four investigates vocalic alternations in verbal and nominal stems. This is a complex issue which Harris does not satisfactorily resolve with the introduction of his arbitrary marking system thereby indicating which vowels will be subject to such alternations. In the fifth chapter, he

considers consonantal alternations in derivational morphology. This chapter also contains certain phonological rules later held untenable by Harris' critics because they assume that every native speaker's grammar contained an implicit knowledge of the historical facts of the Spanish language. Moreover, many of the lexical items were shown to be learned and therefore not part of the child's raw data for constructing a grammar of Spanish phonology. The sixth chapter contains a useful set of ordered phonological rules postulated in the earlier chapters. Chapter seven (# 48)

contains an "excursus" into theoretical issues of markedness and linking based on the sixteenth-century Spanish sibilant change.

47. _____. "Rule Exception Features [± Foreign]: Evidence from Spanish." QPR 94. 223-226 (1969). The purpose of this article is to discuss a proposal by Kiparsky regarding the substitution of a rule feature [± Rule X] for the diacritic feature [± Foreign]. The author takes an example of a

derivation from the preterit tense of the Spanish verbal system in which some forms end in -ieron while others end in only -eron in the third person plural. The point that Harris demonstrates is that a rule feature could not work in this situation since it would be required to have a reverse order in these two cases.

48. _____. "Sound Change in Spanish and the Theory of Markedness." Language 45. 538-552 (1969).

[AA 2. 141-142 (1971) (Anonymous).]

Drawing heavily upon chapter seven of his book, Spanish Phonology (# 46), entitled "Historical Excursus: Reflexes of the Medieval Stridents," Harris discusses the theoretical implications of the sixteenth century Spanish sibiliant changes. He includes special reference to Halle's notion of sound change, and Chomsky and Halle's theory of markedness and related theory of linking (1968). The author deals with both the diachronic aspects of the Castilian sound changes and its synchronic

reflexes in a twentieth century urban Mexican dialect. An implicit purpose of the article is the defense of many of the then recent theoretical phonological innovations developed by Chomsky and Halle. The specific results of the analysis are that a new feature, "distributed, " is seen to be necessary in the binary articulatory feature system to account for the Spanish data and that the theories of markedness and linking presented in SPE, pp. 400-435 must be granted a legitimate status in phonology. The author offers a rigorous and convincing analysis of an old problem that will interest any linguist who works with Hispanic phonology or theoretical linguistics.

49. _____. "Distinctive Feature Theory and Nasal Assimilation in Spanish." Linguistics 58. 18-29 (1970).

[LTA 4. 202 (1971) (Anonymous).]

The purpose of this early article (# 45) by Harris is to defend the then recent articulatory features set forth in

Chomsky and Halle's Sound Pattern of English (1968) as opposed to the Jakobsonian acoustic features that had been used until that time. His analysis of nasal assimilation in Spanish demonstrates that the articulatory features allow this phonological process to be captured in a single rule without ad hoc artifices which he shows would be required in an acoustic feature system. This is the formal publication of his earlier ERIC document (# 45).

50. _____. "A Note on Spanish Plural Formation." Language 46. 928-930 (1970).

In what should have been the final installment in the lengthy phonological soap opera, Harris effectively replies to Saltarelli's (# 95) criticism of Foley's (# 29) analysis of Spanish plural formation. He states that the existence of an abstract final -e for nouns and adjectives is justified by the two independently motivated rules, Velar Softening and Stress Assignment. He points out that Saltarelli's epenthetic solution is vacuous for various substantive reasons. The major point made in this article is

that "it would seem to me to be of great advantage in the study of Spanish, and of language in general, if the topic of 'plural formation' were permanently laid to rest and attention devoted instead to general phonological and morphological processes of language . . . . About these a great deal remains to be learned" (p. 930).

51. _____. "Sequences of Vowels in Spanish." LingI 1. 129-134 (1970).

In a second data-oriented denunciation of Contreras' (# 14) article, Harris argues against Contreras' rule for vowel sandhi in Spanish. He cites two major flaws in Contreras' presentation. The first flaw is basic i.e., the lack of primary data to substantiate his theoretical claim. Harris provides an ample supply of data (p. 131) which refutes Contreras' conjectures. The second section deals with a misinterpretation of Halle's simplicity criterion (feature-counting) on Contreras' part which leads him to consider "rare" or implausible phonological rules as commonplace.

52. _____. "Five Classes of Irregular Verbs in Spanish." GSRL 247-271.

Only the present indicative and subjunctive of five categories of so-called irregular verbs are included in this discussion. They are exemplified by (1) conocer, (2) salir, (3) traer, (4) incluir, and (5) oír. The author states that the paper is a synthesis of some ongoing research and thus should not be considered definitive. Moreover, it raises more questions than it answers. Harris observes quite correctly that his attempts to find underlying regularities result in a series of highly abstract underlying forms with a complex series of phonological rules to derive them. Harris states that "the interrelated problems of the relative abstractness of phonology and of the psychological status of phonological rules are among the most pressing issues confronting generative phonological theory today" (p. 267); a statement which is still true.

53. _____. "Aspectos del consonantismo español." FGT 164-185.

The purpose of this study is to present several classic phonological problems of Spanish in a generative phonological framework. The problems that he discusses are syntheses of his longer work Spanish Phonology (# 46). The issues are those of vowel sandhi and glide formation (cf. #'s 13,39, 51, 74).

54. _____. "Second Person Plural Verb Forms and Other Questions of Phonology and Morphology in Spanish." RLTA 11. 31-60 (1973).

The vosotros form of the verb in Spanish receives meticulous scrutiny in this study by Harris. His purpose is to study them simply "because they are there" (p. 31), i.e., they have yet to receive any systematic treatment in a generative phonological framework. Harris demonstrates convincingly that neither [ys] nor [is] are possible underlying forms for the second person plural of the verb. He gives evidence for an abstract underlying [d] in all of the forms based on evidence from the imperative forms (amad, comed, vivid). He then

seeks to motivate the systematic deletion of the abstract -d- in most vosotros forms. Harris offers a homily in his overview. He states that the present study is descriptive and that "theory is subservient to data, rather than the other way around" (p. 58). The point of this orientation is that "recently, several studies have appeared whose potentially great theoretical interest is undermined by the fact that sweeping arguments are based largely on neat, pre-sanitized examples involving two or three rules of poorly studied languages, languages about which the authors have scant second- or third-hand knowledge" (p. 58). A second important element of this study is Harris' discussion concerning the lack of studies in word formation or morphology in generative grammar and that these areas have many unresolved questions which need to be answered.

55. _____. "Morphologization of Phonological Rules: An Example from Chicano-Spanish." IULC, 1973.

See # 58 for the formal published version of this paper.

56. _____. "On the Order of Certain Morphological Rules in Spanish." FMH 59-76.

In this formal version of a 1970 paper presented at the winter meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, the author takes up the issue of rule ordering relative to paradigmatic uniformity in the Spanish verbal and stress systems. Harris states that " . . . the problem presented by this material is that surface uniformity in paradigms, traditionally attributed to the regularizing force of analogy, is not necessarily reflected in simplicity or naturalness of generative phonological grammars under any presently known evaluation metric. . . . paradigms are a real part of language, not an artifact of the linguist, and that paradigmatic relationships play a role in the organization of grammars, both synchronically and diachronically, and therefore must be incorporated into linguistic theory" (pp. 59-60). Harris'

primary purpose is to demonstrate that the paradigm has a psychological reality for which linguistic theory has failed to develop any descriptive devices. Unfortunately, the author provides no hint of an answer to the dilemma much less a concrete solution.

57. _____. "On Certain Claims Concerning Spanish Phonology." LingI 5. 271-282 (1974).

In his reply to Brame and Bordelois (# 4), Harris maintains that the rule which they set forth as a simplification of Harris' (# 46) earlier analysis of vocalic alternations is untenable. He argues against it in terms of observational adequacy by supplying several counterexamples. Furthermore, he argues against it on the basis of descriptive adequacy stating that their unitary rule of "Raising and Breaking" is in fact two separate rules. The first section of the rule raises e to i and o to u. The second section is merely a diphthongization rule with a

new name. He denounces their proposed rule, which he has reproduced for the reader (p. 271), as an impossible phonological rule in the present theoretical framework. The most significant aspect of this article is that the early 1970's theoretical framework within which they were working lacked any theory of morphology. Since that time this long neglected area has come under substantive theoretical scrutiny.

58. _____. "Morphologization of Certain Phonological Rules: An Example from Chicano-Spanish." LSRL-III 8-27. [Annot. Teschner, p. 91.]

The author's threefold purpose is "(1) to call attention to Chicano Spanish . . . (2) to add one example to the tiny sample of cases of rule morpholgization discussed in detail in generative studies, and (3) to make a small contribution to the nascent but long overdue study of morphology in generative grammar" (p. 9). The area which he studies in detail is diphthongization of the mid-vowels

(e∩ye / o∩we). He first studies an example from a "standard" dialect of Spanish before looking at the Chicano Spanish data. Next, he examines Chicano Spanish in which the diphthongization is no longer phonologically conditioned but has been lexicalized in the verbal system as evidenced by the infinitives vuelar and ruegar. Finally, Harris states that the change is limited only to the first conjugation verbs with the we diphthong.

59. _____. "Morphological Change and Generative Grammar: Two Examples from Spanish." RPh 28. 535-545 (1974-1975).

This is the formal published version of his IULC paper (# 60).

60. _____. "Two Morphophonemic Innovations in Chicano Spanish." IULC, 1974.

[Annot. Teschner, p. 92.]

Harris states that "the aim of this paper is to present material that bears on the relevance of the

paradigm and the distinction between morphological and phonological environments in the explanations of sound change provided in generative grammar" (p. 1). The two innovations involve Spanish of the state of New Mexico. The first is the alternation of the first person plural verbal endings -mos/-nos which occurs in present subjunctive, imperfect, past subjunctive and conditional tenses. The alternation is a stress-related phenomenon. In this sense, the rule is truly "morphophonemic." It is morphological because it applies only to first person plural of verbs and it is phonological because it is conditioned by stress. The second innovation is the retraction of stress in first person plural present subjunctive to the antepenultimate syllable (i.e., trabájenos). The author uses these data to prove his contention that morphology is critically related to language change.

61. _____. "Diphthongization, Monophthongization, Metaphony Revisited." DSRL 85-97.

In this study, the author considers three main

diachronic issues "(i) the role of metaphony . . . in the history of the third conjugation. (ii) The genesis of a rule of dissimilation . . . (iii) The cleavage into diphthongizing and non-diphthongizing sub-groups of the set of [verbal] stems" (p. 97). This article is a clarification of the above three points which were discussed in an article by Yakov Malkiel entitled "Diphthonigization, Monophthongization, Metaphony: Studies in Their Interaction in the Paradigms of Old Spanish -ir Verbs" which appeared in Language (42. 430-472). Harris attributes the regularizing tendency of certain verbs of the -ir class to the loss of a special exception marking feature. The use of arbitrary underlying rule features has frequently been criticized as lacking in explanatory power.

62. _____. "The Fallacy of 'The Fallacy of Strict Sequentiality.'" IULC, October, 1975.

In this reply to an earlier IULC publication (# 24), Harris refutes

Dinnsen's claim that rules (Epenthesis, Raising, Stress Shift) for explaining vocalic alternations in Spanish must apply simultaneously. Harris provides examples to prove that Dinnsen's rules are "rather wildly wrong" (p. 1) based on empirical data. The conclusion that Harris reaches is that "the Spanish data discussed by Dinnsen have no bearing on the issue of the necessity for simultaneous application of phonological rules . . . nor do they suggest that complex phonological processes can in all cases be decomposed into independent component processes" (p. 5).

63. _____. "Stress Assignment Rules in Spanish." CSPL, 56-83.

Harris states that "the purpose of the present paper is to reopen for discussion the topic of stress assignment in Spanish, to review certain partial proposals that have appeared recently, to present new proposals of my own, and in passing to rectify certain misinterpretations of Spanish Phonology [(# 46)] that have arisen" (p. 56). He notes

that there are two stress assignment rules in Spanish--one for non-verbal forms and one for verbal forms. His solution for non-verbal forms is the introduction of an arbitrary diacritic feature "X" which indicates where the stress will be assigned. For verbal forms, his stress assignment rule proposals are sensitive to a variety of morphophonological information such as stem, tense, mood, aspect, person and number markings and are, in effect, cyclic. In an appendix, Harris discusses Hooper's (# 69) proposals for stress assignment in her natural generative phonological framework. He notes that his own framework of generative phonology is completely incompatible with her system and then proceeds to point out flaws in her analysis in terms of observational adequacy.

64. Hartman, Stephen Lee. "An Outline of Spanish Historical Phonology." PIL 7. 123-191 (1974).

The author states that generative phonological

theory shows language history as a two-dimesional phenomenon i.e., "a historical grammar is not simply a list of sound-change laws in chronological order, but a diachronic series of synchronic grammars. Each synchronic grammar consists of a list of ordered rules, and historical changes include not only rule addition, but also rule loss, rule reordering, rule simplification, and restructuring of underlying forms. It is these additional types of change--principally rule reordering and simplification--that make phonological history different from synchronic phonology and thus interesting in its own right" (p. 123). This excellent study consists of one hundred and four operations including seventy-nine rule additions. Additional examples are given of rule reordering, rule simplification, simultaneous reordering and simplification of a rule. At the end of his list of phonological operations, Hartman presents several challenging concepts relative to his analysis. These concepts are given in the form of questions which will encourage future research. The questions

are (1) are the later historical modifications of each rule true simplifications; (2) are all proposed reorderings truly simplifications; (3) how valid and how useful are geographical features such as [rural], [Andes], and [Western Romance]; (4) what combination of rules can be further collapsed or explained jointly; (5) what generalizations about language change and grammatical markedness can be extracted from this series of specific operations. Further information is contained in three appendices: summary of operations; index of operations; and, index of words.

65. Hoffman, Robert J. "The Derivation of Spanish Hypocoristics." CLS 5. 366-371 (1969).

Hoffman makes use of data originally supplied by Boyd-Bowman in a 1955 article in which he discusses the phenomenon of hypocoristics or nicknames. Hoffman used the data to substantiate his claim that the occurrence of alternative frozen forms corresponds to certain phonological processes found in children's speech. Specifically, he

attempts to show that certain hypocoristics correspond to phonological processes acquired in early child speech (ages 1 to 5) versus later child speech (ages 6 to 12). This article is an example of early natural generative phonology in which processes rather than phonological rules are considered to be more important.

66. Hooper, Joan Bybee. "Generative Phonology and the Spanish Yod." M. A. Thesis, San Diego State College, 1970. iv, 109 pp.

In this diachronic analysis of Spanish phonology, the author presents a brief description of the principles of generative-transformational grammar. Hooper states that "the evolution of the vowels of spoken Latin into those of Castilian is analyzed in a new light. The lengthening of stressed vowels in early Romance is represented by the addition of post-nuclear glides to the vowels in stressed syllables. From these lengthened vowels diphthongization of the open mid vowels is generated by the application of rules that already

existed in spoken Latin. The formation of the yod from various sources is shown to be a natural outcome of the two simplification processes occurring in the language: the simplification of the morpheme structure and the simplification of the stress placement rule. When the so-called influence of the yod is studied as a series of rules that generate changes, certain relationships become obvious. For example, all of the vowel replacements that occur when the yod follows the vowel can be generated by one rule and are thus demonstrated to be related. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that the rules in which the yod acts as an environment specification change the same distinctive feature whether the sound segment that is altered is a consonant or vowel" (pp. 108-109).

67. _____. "The Syllable in Phonological Theory." Language 48. 525-540 (1972).

The purpose of this study is to provide evidence from various natural languages, including Spanish, to show that "a syllable boundary is necessary to

designate the domain of certain phonological rules. The syllable can be formally and universally defined by a rule which inserts such syllable boundaries between certain sequences of segments. This rule must apply persistently throughout the phonological component, changing the position of the syllable boundaries as the sequence of segments change" (p. 525). Most of the pertinent Spanish data are contained on pages 525-531. Her definition of syllable is formally presented as X $\longrightarrow$ S / \$___\$, Condition: X contains no \$. In this case, S = syllable and \$ = syllable boundary. A syllable is then defined as "a sequence of segments between two syllable boundaries" (p. 537). For anyone who has not read all of her argumentation within the framework of natural generative phonology, the definition probably seems vacuous. However, it is meaningful in the context of her research on this topic. Her doctoral dissertation (# 68) contains considerable elaboration on the subject of syllable and should be consulted.

68. _____. "Aspects of Natural Generative Phonology." PhD Diss., Univ. of California at Los Angeles, 1973.
[DAI 34 (1974), 4231-4232-A.]
See # 69 for this annotation.

69. _____. Aspects of Natural Generative Phonology. IULC, 1974. vi, 140 pp.
The purpose of this study is to provide an exposition of the theory of natural generative phonology as espoused by Theo Vennemann by using Spanish data to support theoretical claims. Hooper provides a precise synthesis of the differences between natural generative phonology and transformation generative phonology. She states that "in this system the lexical entries contain a good deal of redundant information, whereas in TGG [transformational generative grammar] some of the redundant information is abstracted out of the lexical forms and stated in phonological rules . . . . In NGG [natural generative grammar] the generalizations that may be formulated about the phonological properties

of the forms of the language are stated in phonological rules; these rules apply vacuously to lexical forms, and in a generative capacity to derived forms. The phonological rules of NGG are not extrinsically ordered . . . but rather apply in random sequential order, that is, a rule applies any and every time its structural description (SD) is met. There is no point in the grammar at which phonological rules have not applied; lexical items are stored as forms on which all applicable phonological rules have already operated. Thus the phonological rules function as statements about the redundancies in lexical representations. The phonological rules also have a generative function. In the course of a derivation if a structure arises which meets the SD of a phonological rule, then that phonological rule applies to the structure" (p. 13). The author hopes to show that NGG can respond to the theoretical polemics of the abstractness controversy, the problem of extrinsic rule ordering, the notion of "natural rule," the distinction between phonetic

and morphological motivation of rules, and the cause and direction of change in a morphological system. In chapters seven and eight, Hooper provides evidence for a consonantal strength hierarchy in Spanish which is different from Foley's (# 30) in that her evidence includes physical or phonetic evidence. However, the results are quite similar. Of particular interest is her attempt to define the notion of possible syllable (a highly elusive problem in linguistics) based on Spanish data. This leads her to formulate the "Optimal Syllable Principle" (p. 100). She also takes up the question of plural formation (pp. 111-114) within the framework of NGG. Her solution is that a requirement of a suffix morpheme be met by the stem. This analysis is also intertwined with her notion of consonantal strength. This is an emerging phonological paradigm which will need to undergo the scrutiny of time before its true merits may be ascertained. The present confusion of phonological theories may be witnessed by the conference on phonological

theories held at Indiana University at Bloomington (September 30 and October 1, 1977) in which an attempt to articulate and evaluate the plethora of emerging and competing paradigms was made.

70. _____. "Rule Morphologization in Natural Generative Phonology." Papers from the Parasession on Natural Phonology. Edited by Anthony Bruck, et al. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1974, 160-170.

In this discussion, Hooper reiterates two of the basic tenets of Natural Generative Phonology, Specifically, the "No Ordering Condition" which prohibits extrinsic rule ordering and the "Strong Naturalness Condition" that "requires that all lexical items be entered in systematic phonetic representation as though all phonological rules had already applied" (pp. 160-161). This particular analysis deals with the morphologization of the Final -S deletion rule in Andalusian Spanish and its effect in producing a system of vowel harmony in the nominal and verbal systems. This is an

example of rule morphologization which Harris (# 58) claims is inadequately documented.

71. _____. "The Archi-Segment in Natural Generative Phonology." Language 51. 536-560 (1975).

In this article written within the framework of natural generative phonology, the author states that " . . . lexical items are formatives, and NO phonetically motivated rules apply until the formatives are concatenated into larger strings of complete syllables . . . which requires redundancy free or archi-segmental lexical representations . . . " (p. 536). Her theoretical proposals are partially substantiated with limited data from Spanish (pp. 537, 541, 548). Hooper's suggestion for the introduction of the notion of archisegment " . . . allows morphemes as base forms, but avoids the problem of regarding the morpheme as a phonological unit by not having any rules apply to the lexical relations. Instead, all redundant features are removed, and are not filled in until

the morphemes are combined into words in the surface structure" (p. 551). The principle value of this article is its further elucidation of the emerging paradigm of natural generative phonology.

72. Hooper, Joan B. and Tracy Terrell. "Stress Assignment in Spanish: A Natural Generative Analysis." Glossa 10. 64-110 (1976).

In a more recent analysis of Spanish stress, the authors employ a natural generative phonological framework and state that "we present here an alternative to the standard generative account of Spanish stress, which assigns stress by counting vowels from the end of the word. Our analysis is based on natural generative theory and places strong constraints on phonological abstractness. The suggested analysis takes Spanish stress to be morphologically determined in relation to the stem of the word. We argue against the positing of an abstract final -e in nouns, and against an abstract analysis of verbal inflections. The validity of the proposed analysis is supported

by an analysis of the historical changes in stress patterns in the development of Spanish" (p. 64). The authors note that there are Natural Generative Phonological elements and not abstract elements which are underlying that no native speaker would know.

73. Hooper, Joan B. An Introduction to Natural Generative Phonology. New York: Academic Press, 1976. xviii, 254 pp.

In a substantive revision of her UCLA doctoral dissertation (# 68) Hooper explicates the emerging paradigm of natural generative phonology (NGP). The majority of her exemplary data comes from Spanish. One of the valuable features of this work is that it represents a recent (1976) synthesis of many of the important phonological analyses of Spanish. In addition, it is a critical evaluation of these studies from the point of view of NGP. The best description of NGP provided in the text is as follows: "The theory of NGP is less powerful than the theory of TGP [transformational generative phonology]. In all

examples discussed so far, we have seen that several solutions to each problem are available in TGP. But in NGP the range of solutions is quite narrow, and, we have claimed, the solution suggested by the principles of NGP is the solution that best expresses what speakers know about the data. Thus not only does NGP make strong claims about natural language, it appears to make correct claims. NGP has discarded extrinsic rule order and abstract underlying representations and added another device, the via-rule. The distinction between phonological rules, morphophonemic rules, and via-rules is claimed to be both necessary and empirically motivated. NGP claims that speakers do not internalize linguistic processes in phonological terms made abstract by the depth given the derivation by rule ordering, but rather that speakers understand such processes as morphophonological or lexical relations. The evidence presented above supports the claim that via-rules represent one type of phonological relation possible in natural language, while extrinsic ordering does not. We have also

seen that speakers learn quite easily to associate phonological alternations with morphological categories. This is because speakers have access only to the surface data of language, and they must construct simple, plausible hypotheses, on the basis of the data they have. In many cases, the morphological association of sound to meaning is more obvious than a purely phonetic association, and in these cases we often find independent evidence that speakers have internalized rules of grammar that depend on morphological categories rather than abstract phonology" (pp. 51-52). The term via-rule is closely associated with NGP. It simply means "related to the lexical item m . . . via-rule x" (p. 48).

74. Hutchinson, Sandra Pinkerton. "Spanish Vowel Sandhi." Papers from the Parasession on Natural Phonology. Edited by Anthony Bruck, et al. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1974, pp. 184-192.

In this analysis of the phenomenon of Spanish Vowel

Sandhi, the author uses data from a South Texas dialect of Spanish. She states that "structuralist and Generative treatments of vowel sandhi are characterized by generalizations about vowel 'shortening,' vowel dropping, and glide formation. I hope to show that these analyses are inadequate because they focus exclusively on segmental phenomena, ignoring the interplay between suprasegmental and segmental phenomena. Generative analyses are also forced to a rule ordering strategy which I will argue is inappropriate for the level of derivation where the rules apply. I offer, instead, an analysis, supported by phonetic evidence, which accounts for syllable-timing and syllable sequence type, thereby allowing one general statement about the segmental changes which contiguous vowels undergo in vowel sandhi" (p. 184). The author's analysis is in contrast with that of Contreras (# 14). Her solution lies in her contention that sandhi is triggered by syllable-timing because this is the nature of the Spanish language.

75. King, Robert D. "Rule Insertion." Language 49. 551-578 (1973).

The abstract of this article best sums up the theoretical point the author wishes to make. "The claim that rule insertion---rule addition anywhere in the middle of a grammar---is a possible type of phonological change is considered and rejected. Some putative cases of rule insertion are shown to reduce to rule-reorderings governed by revised constraints on re-ordering; others involve non-controversial rule addition prior to the phonetic rules of grammar; remaining cases of apparent rule insertion are the fictitious consequence of incorrect analyses. New phonological rules can be added only at one point: at the end of the phonological rules but prior to the low-level phonetic rules" (p. 551). King uses two well-documented rules of Spanish phonology---Velar Softening and Truncation. By considering the derivation of the two verbs buscar and cocer, he seeks to show that the synchronic rules were different from the actual historical ordering of

these rules. He cites hacer and decir as relic forms showing the old sequence. He attributes the reordering to the tendency noted by Kiparsky for paradigmatic allomorphic alternations to be reduced.

76. Knittlová, Dagmar. "Notes on Spanish Plural Formation." PP 13. 47-50 (1970).

In what was probably the first published reaction paper to Foley's (# 29) article on Spanish plural formation, Knittlová provides a concise, logical and convincing set of counterarguments to Foley's analysis. The author points out that Foley's alleged simplification of plural formation by the rule Pl $\longrightarrow$ s results from a complication of the phonological component in the form of additional rules and some dubious intermediate derivational stages. Furthermore, she notes that Foley's simplified pluralization rule is not a rewriting rule at all. The morphophonemic variants -s, Ø and -es have been supplanted by the addition of rules of contraction, shortening and apocope. Finally, she adduces sound historical evidence

for her judgments and notes that Foley fails to distinguish native (i.e., Latin) lexical items from the non-native stock of borrowings.

77. Leuschel, Donald Ardell. "Spanish Verb Morphology." PhD Diss., Indiana Univ., 1960. iii, 62 pp. [DA 21.(1960) 2708.]

This dissertation is the first attempt to account for the Spanish verbal system within a generative framework. As such, it shows its age because it is more oriented to proving some of the basic tenets of Chomsky's linguistic theory as discussed in Syntactic Structures (1957). The author considers the so-called three models of linguistic description (finite-state grammars, phrase structure grammars and transformational grammars). He concludes rather haphazardly that only a transformational grammar will account for the verbal system of Spanish because "the transformation model is more powerful in that certain things that may not be generated in the phrase structure model can be generated in the transformational model; that is, it is more

general. It is also more powerful in the sense that it provides for a simpler grammar since the simplest transformation grammar has fewer symbols than the simplest phrase structure grammar" (pp. 58-59). This statement is an example of the low level of analysis and expression that plagued the early period of transformational grammar.

78. Lipski, J. M. "Toward a Production Model of Spanish Morphology: A Further Look at Plurals." Studia Linguistica 28. 83-99 (1974).

[LTLA 8. 165-166 (1975).]

In what is the most recent and objective (and hopefully, the final) article on Spanish plural formation, Lipski presents an excellent critique of other studies on the topic (cf. #'s 23, 29, 37, 50, 76, 80, 95, 96, 109). He notes that the primary attraction of plural formation as a theoretical issue is that it is "less complex than the often nightmarishly irregular verb

paradigms, but still variegated enough to provide a suitable setting for the suspenseful tracking down of elusive generalizations" (p. 85). He further brings the entire issue more clearly into focus by recalling the primary purpose of generative grammarians, which is to provide "not only an algorithm that works, but one that represents a plausible model of what the native speaker actually knows and perhaps even what he does using his language" (p. 84). Essentially, the author presents a solution to the problem based on a synchronic analysis of the data which provides a binary selection model based on what the native speaker knows about the language. It does not assume that the speaker has a knowledge of a history of the Spanish language in his or her grammar as other analyses do.

79. Martínez Celdrán, Eugenio. "Estudio morfofonológico de la vocal temática en español." REspL 5. 165-175 (1975).

In this study of the verbal theme vowel, the author

thoroughly examines the grammatical status of such an element and concludes that "La vocal temática no es un morfema, pues no es una unidad gramatical. Es un rasgo fonoléxico, es decir, es un rasgo del nivel morfofonológico que se asigna al morfema léxico verbal. Su función es morfofonémica, es decir, relaciona morfos representantes de morfemas léxicos y de morfemas gramaticales. Como rasgo fonoléxico es proporcionado en el lexicón, es decir, en la estructura superficial, por medio de reglas morfofonémicas" (pp. 173-174).

80. Meyerthaler, Willi. "Anmerkungen zur Pluralbildung im Spanischen." LingB 12. 47-52 (1971)

Basically, this is a refutation of Saltarelli's (# 95) epenthesis proposal to plural formation. Meyerthaler's argumentation against Saltarelli's position is weak because it is based on Portuguese and Catalan plural formation rather than on readily available evidence from Spanish. It sustains Foley's (# 29) apocope solution which is outlined in some detail. One important aspect of this

article is the lengthy footnote in which the author cites Kiparsky's 1968 dictum that evidence for phonological rules should be sought only in surface alternations. This, of course, would mitigate against Foley's abstract -e proposal.

81. Naro, Anthony G. "Binary or N-ary Features?" CLS 6. 533-542 (1970).

In a reply to an article by Contreras (# 14) in which he claims there is a need for an n-ary vocalic feature system based on Spanish, Naro argues against Contreras' more powerful proposal along three basic lines. Naro's first point is that the n-proposal denies a general rule of assimilation found in Portuguese data. Secondly, the n-ary system disallows certain native speaker intuitions. Finally, the binary formulation is a natural stage in an historical process. Naro contradicts Contreras' claim on the basis of historical Portuguese phonology and the so-called cost accounting approach to phonology which was prevalent in the late sixties. Later studies

have demonstrated that mere feature counting as a basis for evaluating the simplicity of a phonological grammar may cause the loss of significant linguistic generalizations.

82. _____. "A Note on the Elision of Yod in Spanish." LingI 1. 543-545 (1970).

This brief squib supports an hypothesis proffered by W. S-Y Wang in which he proposes that phonological features for the tongue region be shared by both consonants and vowels with a consequent simplification of the grammar. The author uses historical data from Ramón Menéndez-Pidal to show that "palatal vowels and consonants behave as a single diachronic class" (p. 544).

83. Otero, Carlos-Peregrín. Evolución y revolución en romance: mínima introducción a la fonología. Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1971. 318 pp. (including 13 fold out maps).

This study (which deserves more recognition than

it has received) is a diachronic phonological study of the Iberian Romance dialects and languages within a generative framework. Stephen Lee Hartman (# 64) uses data from this study for his analysis of the historical processes in Hispano-Romance. There is an excellent bibliography on pages 211-242. The appendices contain a useful list of symbols, terms, and a table of phonological distinctive feature classifications of consonants and an ordered list of phonological rules (pp. 294-318). It should be noted that the author has revised the order of several of his phonological rules in the prologue based on suggestions made by Harris. This book is an important resource for anyone undertaking a serious investigation of Spanish or Romance phonology.

84. Pullum, Geoffrey K. "Sequential and Simultaneous Rule Application in Spanish Phonology." Lingua 38. 221-262 (1976).

The primary purpose of this study is to consider the question of rule-ordering in phonological theory by

using language-specific data relating to Spanish Stress Assignment. The author specifically discusses the sequential derivation of rules which he defines as the "application of rules one at a time, each to the output of the previous application . . . " (p. 222). Furthermore, he describes simultaneous application which "involves all the rules applying at once, so that each rule applies only to the underlying input representation" (p. 222). Sequential rules may apply in three ways: random fashion; parochial fashion, i.e., specific to language L; and, universal fashion, i.e., subject to general principles and not part of a language-specific grammar. The author concludes that "rules apply simultaneously with a universally determined set of other rules (namely, the obligatory rules meeting the structural description at the given stage of the derivation). The rest apply in a universally determined sequential order . . . . This conflicts with the theory of Chomsky and Halle (1968) . . . in asserting (i) that it is not the case that

language specific (parochial) conditions must be employed in determining applicational procedure in rules" (p. 259).

85. Reiff, Donald Gene. "A Characterization-Evaluation System of Theories of Spanish Verb Morphology. PhD Diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1963. v, 92 pp. [DA 24 (1963) 1608.]

The purpose of this dissertation is "to examine the general approach taken by Chomsky to linguistic theory, to compare it with various other approaches, and to construct an interpretation of it which will be applicable to the morphological analysis of the Spanish verb system, as that system is related to the Spanish sentence" (p. 1). This is another early study which seeks to define and defend the new linguistic paradigm of transformational grammar as its primary purpose rather than to provide a truly substantive account of Spanish verb morphology. The study purports to analyze six theories of verb morphology on the basis of the criteria of simplicity, coherence and explanatory power. Reiff

decides that on this basis only a transformational account is adequate to deal with the data. Little substantive commentary on Spanish verb morphology is provided.

86. Sableski, Julia Falk. "A Generative Phonology of a Spanish Dialect." MA Thesis, Univ. of Washington, 1965. iv, 61 pp.

In a very early attempt at a generative phonological analysis of Spanish, Sableski analyzes a rural Panamanian dialect of Spanish based on data from Stanley L. Robe's The Spanish of Rural Panama: Major Dialectal Features (1960). The thrust of her work is to apply the generative-transformational paradigm of linguistics to a natural language based on hypotheses presented in the papers of Halle (1962) and Keyser (1962). Her work has been criticized because she chooses Castilian Spanish as the underlying form from which rural Panamanian is derived rather than accepting the possibility that dialects may develop certain features independently of the ancestral language.

The phonological features utilized are the standard acoustic features of the period. Of interest is a complex disjunctively ordered set of rules for plural formation found on pages 29-30. (This thesis was written before the question became a well-known pseudo-issue.) Chapter five contains a list of forty-six phonological rules and chapter six contains several sample derivations. Considering that this was one of the "pioneer" studies in generative phonology, it is a quite comprehensive and elaborate analysis of Spanish. It stands up remarkably well under the test of time.

87. Saciuk, Bohdan. "Lexical Strata in Generative Phonology (With Illustrations from Ibero-Romance)." PhD Diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1969, vi, 166 pp.
[DA 31 (1970), 746-A.]

The purpose of this phonological analysis "is to study the role that the different components of

the lexicon play in generative phonology, and to sketch a proposal for dealing with these phenomena" (p. iv). This study is a synchronic analysis of the lexical strata of three Romance languages (Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan). In particular, the author proposes that the applicability of phonological rules is sensitive to underlying and arbitrary features such as [± Native] and [± Homogeneous]. These features explain why some lexical items undergo certain phonological rules while others do not. Several aspects of this dissertation are similar to those of Willis (# 110) in which the applicability of certain phonological rules is sensitive to the presence of underlying features like [learned] and [popular]. The difference between the two studies is that Willis' study was restricted to the nominal system of Spanish while Saciuk's study considers three romance languages and their verbal systems.

88. _____. "The Strata Division of the Lexicon."

PIL 1. 464-532 (1969).

This is a reproduction of the first chapter of his University of Illinois doctoral dissertation (# 87). It is simply an attempt to justify the diacritic features of [± Native] and [± Homogeneous] in Ibero-Romance. Homogeneous means "being made up of similar parts of elements; of the same composition or structure throughout. This subset includes all of the native forms and those forms that diverge least from the native behavior. Therefore, the Homogeneous subset is split into [+ Native] and [-Native] . . . . The claim is made that every natural language is made up of three main lexical components or strata: [+ Native], [- Native], and [- Homogeneous]. The [+ Native] component is the predominant and basic stratum of the language. The [- Native] component consists of forms that behave differently from the [+ Native] forms, but its inventory of underlying segments is very similar to that of the [+ Native] component . . . . The [- Native] component shares many rules with the [+ Native]

component . . . . The forms that belong to the [- Homogeneous] component, on the other hand, are radically different from the [+ Native] component with respect to the application of phonological rules and their inventory of underlying segments. In general the [- Homogeneous] component will retain foreign borrowings, proper and place names, etc." (p. 482).

89. _____. "Phonological Studies in Romance." GSRL 215-224.

In this valuable synthesis of phonological studies of the various Romance languages in a generative framework, the author demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the "state of the art" until 1971 when this overview chapter was written. It is an important resource for the linguist who wants to get a (now) somewhat dated panorama of the situation as it existed six years ago.

90. _____. "Spanish Stress and Language Change." LSRL--III. 28-37.

The purpose of this paper is to support the author's contention that lexical stratification is a theoretical reality. The author also supports his contention that native words are differentiated from the non-native lexicon on the basis of the applicability of the Main Stress Rule of Spanish. He formulates a new disjunctive version of Harris' formal stress rule. The first part applies to non-native nouns and adjectives according to the quality of the next to last vowel. The second part applies "elsewhere."

91. St. Clair, Robert N. "Compound Phonological Segments." Lingua 29. 120-127 (1970).

The author proposes the revival of Bloomfield's concept of a compound unit phoneme to account for such items as the alveopalatal affricate [$t\overset{v}{s}$] as well as a standard theoretical convention to capture this notion. Using data from the Spanish verbal paradigms, St. Clair motivates the rule of vowel contraction in Hispanic phonology (V + V $\longrightarrow$ V). His metatheoretical proposal for this type of compound phonological

segment is as follows: $[X]_1\,[Y]_2 \longrightarrow [[X]\,[Y]]_{1+2}$.

He provides additional supporting data from English phonology to support the need for this convention in generative phonology.

92. _____. "Diphthongization in Spanish." PIL 4. 421-432 (1971).

In this article, St. Clair has focused on the controversial question of a proper description of the vocalic alternations (e∿ye / o∿we) in Spanish phonology. He notes that there are essentially two ways of handling this problematic theoretical issue. The first is to propose a single, complex phonological rule which creates diphthongs. The second is that diphthongization is the result of a series of ordered rules. In his proposal, these rules include Vowel Raising, Vowel Addition, Vowel Shift and Glide Formation. It is interesting to note that this is essentially the solution proposed by Harris (# 46) except for the names of the rules. Both authors must

rely on the use of a diacritic feature (upper case O and E) to mark only those vowels which undergo the multiple rules from those that do not. The explanation of the arbitrary nature of this marking procedure has thus far eluded the generative phonologist.

93. St. Clair, Robert and Cynthia Park. "The Irregular Present Tense Verbs of Spanish." Linguistics 135. 73-99 (1974).

The authors correctly state that phonological analyses of the Spanish present tense systematically avoid the irregular verbs. They point out the following systematic regularities: verbs with an irregular first person ending in -y; those with vocalic alternations in the stem (explained away by an arbitrary underlying vocalic system with a tense and lax e and o); those stems with a velar alternation (hacer); those stems with a non-alternating velar infix (tocar); those verbs with an abstract consonantal stem (creer); those with a yod infix (huir); those with a metathesized verb stem (caber);

those with a velar infix (poner); and those with a vowel raising stem (servir). In addition, St. Clair and Park discuss "residual problems" like ser, saber and haber. The authors of this article deserve credit for considering the vexing issue of the irregular present tense verbal forms. Their analyses generally account for the data by the introduction of a variety of abstract underlying forms which seem to reconstruct historical grammatical processes. This precise factor has been questioned in generative phonology on theoretical grounds i.e., Kiparsky's alternation condition and whether or not the native speaker needs to create such abstract forms on the basis of the raw material presented to him or her in creating his or her phonological grammar.

94. Saltarelli, Mario D. "Romance Dialectology and Generative Grammar." Orbis 15. 51-59 (1966).

This article presents a survey of several structuralist proposals for the comparison of dialects. More specifically, Saltarelli proposes

a theory of generative dialectology based on a comparison of the grammatical rules in two related linguistic systems. He defines two crucial terms in his exposition the "common system" which is the "recurring set of formal properties" (p. 53) as opposed to the "extensional system" i.e., "the sets of formal properties which are necessary to account for [two] dialects . . . " (p. 54). In order to test his hypothesis, he compares the phonemic inventory of three Iberian "dialects:" Castilian, Portuguese and Catalan. The hypothesis was provacative because of its novelty. It was successfully tested in an M. A. thesis written by Calvano (# 9) on the basis of twenty-five lexical items.

95. _____. "Spanish Plural Formation: Apocope or Epenthesis?" Language 46. 89-96 (1970).

In this reply to Foley's (# 29) position on Spanish plural formation, Saltarelli tries to accomplish two objectives. His first objective is to point out logical problems and linguistic complexities

involved in Foley's "simplification." Secondly, he offers an alternative solution. Rather than a rule of apocope, which deletes an abstract underlying -e, Saltarelli proposes a rule of epenthesis by which an -e is inserted in order to account for nouns and adjectives which end in a consonant or stressed vowel other than -e. The author notes that the chief value of his epenthesis explanation is that it is phonetically, rather than lexically, based resulting in a less complex grammar. He further notes that while the synchronic evidence favors an epenthetic solution, the diachronic data contradict his claim i.e., amorem → amore → amor. The argumentation of the study is rather diffuse and some of the evidence adduced is less than convincing.

96. _____. "Epenthesis, Velar Softening and Stress in Spanish." LingB 19. 63-68 (1972). In this reply to Harris (# 50) and Meyerthaler (# 80), Saltarelli defends his theoretical suggestion of an epenthetic -e against Harris'

suggestions. He states that Harris' apocope solution which is the same as Foley's (# 29) entails "a considerable lexical and grammatical load" (p. 64). This "load" takes the form of additional rules and greater phonological abstractness. Saltarelli correctly points out that Meyerthaler's separation of the prothetic (word-initial) and epenthetic (word-final) -e phenomena based on Portuguese and Catalan data is irrelevant. However, Saltarelli fails to mention Harris' justification of a rule which inserts word-initial -e because it must apply after stress assignment i.e., the present tense of estar. In addition, this rule applies to other form classes (in particular verbs) and it applies to all word-initial consonant clusters of the form -sC but not to all word final consonant clusters of the same form.

97. _____. "Leveling of Paradigms in Chicano Spanish." CSPL, 123-131.

In another analysis of Chicano Spanish originally studied in a generative framework by Harris

(#'s 58,59, 60), Saltarelli analyses the phenomenon of analogical leveling in Chicano Spanish. He distinguishes phonological leveling i.e., "elimination of phonetic alternations through rule loss or rule fading [and] elimination of phonetic contrasts in given environments (neutralization) through rule extension and rule addition" (p. 124). This is distinct from morphological leveling which is the "elimination of entire paradigms or parts of them" (p. 124). The author questions why the Chicano paradigm only affects back vowels (o ∩ue) in the first conjugation and the change of the desinence -mos to -nos in the present subjunctive in the first conjugation. He proposes a concrete morphological explanation as opposed to a more abstract phonological analysis. Saltarelli bases this on the fact that the process is spreading to other conjugation classes. This study is an excellent synthesis of Harris' work.

98. Sánchez, Rosaura Arteaga. "A Generative Study of Two Spanish Dialects." PhD Diss., Univ.

of Texas at Austin, 1974. v, 164 pp.

[DAI 35 (1974), 2971-A.]

This analysis of two dialects of Spanish (Northern Mexican Dialect and the Southwestern United States Dialect) is different from other theoretical studies. It attempts to account for sociolinguistic factors for dialect differences within a generative framework. In contrast, this study ignores the "ideal speaker" notion of Chomsky. Instead, the author perceptively notes that "a grammar . . . is a theory of linguistic competence but competence, beyond the innate ability of man to construct a grammar and speak, constitutes an individual's abstraction of his linguistic experience. Speech data, cannot be studied in isolation and [data] must be analyzed in its social context, not merely in terms of immediate factors such as topic, situation, style, role but in terms of major socio-economic realities . . . which create these social constraints which are continually operating on language" (p. 11). However, in many respects, this analysis is a standard study within a generative framework of two dialects. It deals

with the form and order of two sets of rules in order to account for dialect differences. In her discussion of the rule of Stress Assignment (pp. 58-63), she proposes an epenthetic solution to Plural Formation based on the interaction of these two rules. This discussion is brief and not really polemical. An interesting appendix (pp. 152-158) contains a short discussion and dictionary of Caló (the argot of the Southwest).

99. Sánchez D., Anibal. "Caracterización del sistema fonológico del castellano a base de rasgos distintivos." LyC 11. 55-61 (1971).

The purpose of this article is to translate literally and figuratively the articulatory phonological features of Chomsky and Halle's The Sound Pattern of English (1968) into the Spanish language and phonological system. A few sample phonological rules are offered to demonstrate the maximum generality that such a system permits.

100. Saporta, Sol and Heles Contreras. A Phonological

Grammar of Spanish. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1962. 43 pp. [Rev. Word 19. 258-265 (1963) (E. García); RLR 75. 287-88 (1963) (H. Guiter); SIL 17. 102 (1963) (G. Trager); HR 32. 69-71 (1964) (P. M. Lloyd); BSLP 59. 128-29 (1964) (B. Pottier); RPh 25. 412-420 (1972) (O. T. Myers).]

By today's standards, this study is primitive because it lacks a unified notational system as was established in 1968 with the publication of The Sound Pattern of English by Chomsky and Halle. In addition, it is not a comprehensive work on the scope of Harris' Spanish Phonology. This study is a justification of the emerging paradigm of transformational grammar as first espoused by Chomsky in his Syntactic Structures (1957). As the basis of their own study, Saporta and Contreras use the basic theoretical tenets set forth in Chomsky (1957). Pages 30-33 contain a set of eleven basic, ordered phonological rules for the generation of all possible sequences of the Spanish

sound system. Some rules are obligatory while others are optional. There are thirty such rules which may apply. The authors provide one sample derivation in this very brief analysis for the item examinándoselos. Many of the ideas concerning the notion of permissible phonological structure for Spanish derive from Saporta's 1955 Illinois doctoral dissertation "Morpheme Alternates in Spanish." Thus, these observations pre-date R. Stanley's notion of morpheme structure conditions in natural languages as first presented in his 1967 article in Language "Redundancy Rules in Phonology."

101. Saporta, Sol. "Ordered Rules, Dialect Differences, and Historical Processes." Language 41. 218-224 (1965).

The purpose of this article is to use Spanish phonological data to support Halle's theoretical characterization of dialect differences in terms of different rules in a speaker's grammar or identical rules in a different order. Saporta

cites four historical processes which illustrate dialect differences: phonological merger; analogy; phonological split; and hypercorrection. The data derive from Castilian and several Latin American dialects. They include the standard phonological differences as [θ]∿[s], [ɟ]∿[y] and [s]∿[ø]. The author's data confirm Halle's theoretical proposals. Saporta's primary point that "synchronic facts often recapitulate historical changes" (p. 224) is oblique. Perhaps the most important aspect of this article is that it contains the germ of what has become one of the most hotly debated pseudo-issues in Spanish generative phonology. His rule for plural formation of nouns and adjectives is found on page 220. According to later critics, it was merely a restatement of traditional observations on pluralization.

102. _____. "Spanish Estar: On the Explanation of Anomalies." ILPHHRK, 808-814.

Rather than a treatise on what constitutes a

satisfactory generative phonological account of the proper derivation of the verb estar, this paper is an exemplification of Thomas Kuhn's notion of scientific revolutions as applied to contemporary linguistic theory. Saporta sums up his account by noting that the existing analyses have not considered the consequences of their explanations.

103. Schane, Sanford A. "Truncation and Stress in Spanish." CSRL 50-62.

The basic point of this paper is to present a unified treatment of the Stress Assignment rule in Spanish. Schane's analysis is opposed to Harris' (# 63) proposal in which Stress Assignment is shown to be two separate rules---one for verbs and the other for nouns and adjectives. Schane's proposal is to regard Stress Assignment as a unitary rule. He notes that Harris' (# 46) original solution requires several ad hoc rules of deletion to handle complications of interaction with respect to Theme Vowel Truncation and Stress Assignment. Schane states that in some cases

"local ordering" or variable ordering would seem to be necessary to yield the correct output. His solution involves the amplification of these two extrinsically ordered rules. Truncation must now have a categorial and temporal restriction on its domain of application, whereas Stress Assignment includes an "X" or arbitrary diacritic feature in its formulation to produce a proper sequential derivation. The author claims that his treatment is more concrete because it eliminates the need for several ad hoc deletion rules and his Truncation rule is "transparent as there are no surface forms in conflict with it" (p. 58).

104. Stark, Donald Stewart. "A Comparative Verb Morphology of Four Spanish Dialects." PhD Diss., Cornell Univ., 1967. iv, 143 pp. [DA 28 (1967), 2234-A.]

In this dissertation, four Hispanic dialects (Castilian, Judeo-Spanish, Asturian and Aragonese) are compared within the framework of generative phonology. This study, at best, is a simplistic

generative account of the differences of the four dialects because it fails to use distinctive features. Had he used such features, they would have been acoustic rather than articulatory because his study was written prior to Chomsky and Halle (1968). The author states that he has chosen the generative model as it allows "maximum explicitness" (p. 8). However, his rules are not correct in their formalism. His only significant claim to utilizing a generative model is his recognition that the grammars of distinct dialects may differ in the phonological rules employed and their respective order. If the one-page bibliography (p. 143) is indicative of the quantity of materials used in the preparation of this dissertation, it is woefully inadequate as many more studies could have been consulted.

105. Suñer, Margarita. "Spanish Adverbs: Support for the Phonological Cycle?" LingI 6. 602-605 (1975).

Suñer argues against Brame's (# 5) contention

that Spanish adverbs provide support for the cyclic application of stress assignment in Spanish. She argues that adjective + mente should be considered as two separate lexical items which are written as one by a spelling convention. Suñer provides convincing evidence for her proposal by showing that in adverbial series, only the final adverb contains -mente. Hence, it must be assumed that there is a rule which deletes -mente. In contrast, if one accepts Brame's bracketing of adverbs, then -mente deletion could only apply in an ad hoc fashion.

106. Terrell, Tracy D. "Functional Constraints on Deletion of Final /s/ in Cuban Spanish." Berkeley 431-437.

This statistically documented phenomenon of Cuban Spanish supports a functionalist interpretation of final s deletion. "Grammatical morphemes may carry essential information, whereas more often than not the deletion of a final consonant from a morphophonemic word would not hinder greatly its

recognition" (p. 431). The author also finds that this phenomenon corresponds to two aspects of linguistic metatheory proposed by Kiparsky. These are the leveling conditions "which state that allomorphy in paradigms tends to get eliminated" (p. 431), and the distinctness conditions "which . . . state that there is a tendency for semantically relevant information to be retained in surface structure" (p. 431).

107. Wang, Mary Clayton. "What Stops a Sound Change?" GSRL 277-284.

According to Wang, "generative phonologists . . . have ignored the distinction between productive and non-productive sound changes . . ." (p. 277). She proposes to answer the question of what prevents continuing sound change by introducing a new level of the rule component which separates "last rules" from "non-last rules." She claims that only the "last rule" component permits productive sound changes. A rule loses this special component status when it ceases to be

productive. Wang cites the case of the Latin dental stops to illustrate her point (1) d → ∅; (2) t → d; (3) tt → t; (4) d → ð. (1), (2) and (3) are examples of non-last rules, hence non-productive. The concept is interesting, but the author realizes that it may provide unjustified theoretical power. In addition, it does not consider the theoretical issue of rule-ordering.

108. Whitley, Melvin Stanley. "Toward a Generative Theory of Dialectology, with Reference to English, Spanish and German Dialect Areas." PhD Diss., Cornell Univ., 1974. vi, 218 pp. [DAI 35 (1974), 3719-A.]

In this dissertation, the author seeks to accomplish the following goals: "1) define the notions of language and dialect; 2) constrain the types, and extent of dialectal variation possible in a generative grammar for dialects of a single language; 3) refine criteria for dialectological classification of systems; 4) develop a framework which can account for relatedness between linguistic systems" (pp. 2-3).

Chapter four is specifically related to Spanish dialectology (pp. 91-122). In this excellent study, the author perceptively notes that "most works in Spanish dialectology fail to integrate the disparate phenomena observed into structured linguistic systems" (p. 91). In general this work is a careful examination and evaluation of the various approaches to dialectology.

109. _____. "Stress in Spanish: Two Approaches." Lingua 39. 301-332 (1976).

This article compares and contrasts the author's Distinctive Stress Approach (DSA) to Spanish with Harris' (# 46) Non-Distinctive Stress Approach (NSA) to Spanish phonology. Whitley concludes this data-based analysis by stating that "Harris has succeeded in laying out a systematic framework for stress placement in Spanish. If, without any extra cost to the grammar, NSA eliminated all underlying specifications of stress, then it would lead to a significant savings over DSA. Yet, as we have seen, the net effect of NSA is

the replacement of DSA's [± stress] with the ad hoc feature [± tense] and several dead-ending diacritics. Feature-for-feature, [stress] is borne out by synchronic phonetic evidence while [tense] is a figment of the Latin Stress Assignment Rule; fewer diacritics are needed in DSA than in NSA; and while DSA diacritics single out as exceptional either unique words or classes being assimilated to unmarked classes, NSA diacritics set off as anomalous or deviant precisely the productive classes. As for their phonological rules, DSA's epenthesis is well-motivated while NSA's apocope meets with numerous classes of exceptions. Moreover, NSA's apocope sometimes produces the wrong phonetic output" (p. 331). A section of this paper is devoted to the pseudo-issue of Spanish plural formation and whether or not it is produced by a rule of apocope or epenthesis (#'s 23, 29, 37, 50, 76, 78, 80, 95, 96).

110. Willis, Bruce Edward. "The Alternation of So-Called

Learned/Popular Vocabulary in Phonological Descriptions of Latin American Spanish." PhD Diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1969. iv, 105 pp. [DA 31 (1970), 749-A.]

The purpose of this study is to systematically relate so-called learned and popular lexical items i.e., llaga/plaga. Willis limits his analysis to a dialect of Mexico City. His solution for dealing with the problem is to posit two underlying morphological features [ln] = "learned" and [pp] = "popular." One criticism that has been frequently cited against the approach is that it uses arbitrary features which have no linguistic or psychological reality. The only function of these features is to provide a "neat" or elegant solution to certain phonological problems.

111. _____. "Stress Assignment in Spanish." Studies to Lees 303-312.

In this analysis of Spanish stress assignment, Willis notes that the traditional description

of Spanish stress has a dual system, specifically, lexico-syllabic and accentual syllabic. The author proposes a new analysis that excludes verbs which he feels have been adequately covered by Harris (# 46). His new proposal applies directly to underlying representations and assigns four levels of stress. Willis notes that "this unified classification of vowels can greatly simplify the phonological component of Spanish since the environment of the rules that pertain to vowels will be given in terms of stress. Rules of syncope, apocope, and vowel lowering or raising are readily stated in terms of those environments" (p. 311). This approach creates an arbitrary system of stress levels in order to designate markers which state when certain phonological rules may apply. It is a complication of an already complex set of rules.

112. _____. "That Erudite Enigma Revisited." DSRL 235-244.

The focus of this study is a diachronic perspective

on the treatment of exceptional lexical items in Spanish. The author states that he "would like to discuss how successive generations of speakers might have restructured their grammars in order to account for the ever increasing number of 'Latinisms' which they encountered in their daily speech" (p. 235). Willis' solution involves the introduction of arbitrary morphological features, such as Learned and Popular, in order to mark items as undergoing or not undergoing certain phonological rules. This is the same approach that he used in his doctoral dissertation (# 110). This method has received much criticism because it makes use of non-linguistic markings that have no psychological reality.

113. Wilson, Jack Leroy. "A Generative Phonological Study of Costa Rican Spanish." PhD Diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1970. iii, 520 pp. [DA 31 (1971), 4148-A.]

The author's objective is "to state the phonological divergencies from standard Spanish in certain select

areas of Costa Rica, and to formalize their distribution, using as data questionnaires filled in by the investigator at personal interviews with 47 informants from 27 towns and cities of the area" (p. 1). The theoretical framework of this study is the transformational-generative model of phonology as set forth in Chomsky and Halle's The Sound Pattern of English (1968). It is interesting to note that Wilson is not in complete agreement with Chomsky's notion of the ideal speaker as the basis for his dialect study. In fact, he states that "the problem of a dialect study is whether performance or competence is to be the criterion for differentiation . . . . In our own study, we have attempted to characterize competence and performance: competence in our rules, and performance in our maps . . . " (p. 125). The formal rules for discribing the dialects are found on pages 117-123. The questionnaire used by the author is located on pages 129-150. The maps which show the location of the various dialects are on pages 151-515. This study

represents a solid model of competent field work. It is also a valid empirical application of theoretical linguistics to practical matters of dialectology. Anyone interested in dialectology should refer to Whitley's dissertation (# 108).

114. Wolfe, David Lee. "A Generative-Transformational Analysis of Spanish Verb Forms." PhD Diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1966. v, 130 pp.
— [DA 28 (1967), 218-A.]

The author states that "the purpose of this study is to investigate Spanish verb forms in terms of the generative-transformational approach to linguistic analysis currently [1966] being developed by Chomsky and others at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The study covers finite active verb forms, simple and compound, indicative and subjunctive . . . " (p. 1). This early study of the Spanish verbal system is no longer significant given the rapid theoretical advances that have been made over the past decade. His fourth chapter contains two rules which he believes are

fundamental to any account of the verbal system of Spanish. The rules are the Verbal Agreement Rule and Affix Hopping. It is a spotty analysis and has not maintained its significance. Furthermore, it examines no specific dialect of Spanish.

115. Woodaman, Ronald Elliott Hasbouck. "A Distinctive Feature Analysis of Spanish." PhD Diss., Georgetown Univ., 1972. vi, 183 pp. [DA 33 (1973), 3626-A.]

In a highly technical distinctive feature analysis, the author states that his general theoretical model is "neo-Prague or functional-structural, as typified by Martinet and his theory of the double articulation. Human language is viewed on two planes--that of meaningful units, the first articulation, and that of distinctive units, the second articulation. The sign then is considered to be the result of both articulations, it is a meaningful unit of the first articulation provided with a phonological form by the second articulation. In both articulations differences

of identity are described in terms of paradigmatic (alternation) relation, called 'oppositions,' and syntagmatic (order) relations called 'contrasts'" (p. 2). The actual material used to provide the analysis for this dissertation was gathered from the author's wife, a native speaker of Venezuelan Spanish, as described in chapter three (pp. 63-96). There is an appendix (pp. 144-178) containing twenty-two sonograms used for acoustic evidence in the study.

116. Wright, James Richard. "Spanish Verb Morphophonology." PhD Diss., Indiana Univ., 1972. xiv, 290 pp. [DAI 33 (1973), 4395-4396-A.]

The purpose of this study is "to investigate all Spanish verb forms in present use which are active and finite, indicative or subjunctive, in an endeavor to reveal a far greater range of regularity in the linguistic structure of contemporary Spanish verb morphophonology than might be imagined after only an examination of the surface realization such as those presented

in any traditional Spanish grammar" (pp. i-ii). The dialect chosen as the focus of this study is Castilian. The author divides phonological rules into two categories "living" (productive) and "dead" (non-productive). The processes discussed include Stress Assignment, Diphthongization, Velar Softening and Apocope. The author claims success in demonstrating the inability of one model (represented by Harris and Foley) to account for all of the data satisfactorily. This study represents a thorough analysis of the Spanish verbal system.

List of Abbreviations

*	Not seen by annotator.
AA	Abstracts in Anthropology.
Annot.	Annotation.
Berkeley	Cogan, Cathy, et al. Editors. Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. (February 15-17, 1975). Berkeley, California: Univ. of California, 1975.
BH	Bulletin Hispanique.
BSLP	Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris.
CLS 5	Binnick, Robert I., et al. Editors. Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1969.
CLS 6	Papers from the Sixth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1970.

CLS 7 — Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1971.

CLS 9 — Corum, Claudia, et al. Editors. Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1973.

CSPL — Milan, William G., et al. Editors. 1974 Colloquium on Spanish and Portuguese Linguistics. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1975.

CSRL — Luján, Marta and Fritz Hensey. Editors. Current Studies in Romance Linguistics. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1976.

DSRL — Saltarelli, Mario and Dieter Wanner. Editors. Diachronic Studies in the Romance Languages. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.

DA — Dissertation Abstracts.

DAI — Dissertation Abstracts International (Xerox University Microfilms. Formerly Dissertation Abstracts).

EspA — Español Actual.

FMH — Anderson, Stephen R. and Paul Kiparsky. A Festschrift for Morris Halle. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

FoLi — Folia Linguistica.

Frey — Frey, Herschel J. Teaching Spanish: A Critical Bibliographic Survey. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1974.

FGT — Contreras, Heles. Los fundamentos de la gramática transformacional. 2nda ed. México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1973.

GL — General Linguistics.

GSRL — Casagrande, Jean and Bohdan Saciuk. Editors. Generative Studies in the Romance Languages. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1972.

HR — Hispanic Review.

IULC — Indiana University Linguistics Club. Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

IRAL — International Review of Applied Linguistics.

ILPHHRK — Kachru, Braj, et al. Editors. Issues in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Henry and Renee Kahane. Urbana, Illinois: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1973.

LangS — Language Sciences.

LL — Language Learning.

LTA — Language Teaching Abstracts.

LTLA — Language Teaching and Linguistics: Abstracts (formerly Language Teaching Abstracts).

LyC — Lenguaje y Ciencias (Trujillo, Perú).

LingB — Linguistische Berichte.

LingI — Linguistic Inquiry.

Studies to Lees — Sadock, J. M. and L. Vanek. Editors. Studies Presented to Robert B. Lees by his Students. Edmonton: Linguistic Research Incorporated, 1970.

SCL — Studii şi Cercetari Lingvistice.

Teschner — Teschner, Richard V., et al. Spanish and English of the United States Hispanos: A Critical, Annotated, Linguistic Bibliography. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975.

LSRL-III Campbell, Joe, et al. Editors. Linguistic Studies in Romance Languages: Proceedings of the Third Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1974.

PIL Papers in Linguistics.

PP Philologia Pragensia.

QPR Quarterly Progress Report (MIT).

Rev. Review.

REspL Revista Española de Lingüística.

RLTA Revista de Lingüística Teórica y Aplicada.

RLR Revue de Langues Romanes.

RIE Research in Education (1975-Resources in Education).

RPh Romance Philology.

SIL Studies in Linguistics.

SLS Studies in the Linguistic Sciences.

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